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R 241135Z FEB 78 FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7733

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 DAR ES SALAAM 0794

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: AMGT, TZ

SUBJECT: APPROACHES TO US GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN TANZANIA

REF: (A) 77 DAR ES SALAAM 4948, (B) 77 STATE 29551, (C) 77 STATE 291277

- 1. TANZANIA PLAYS A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN SHAPING AFRICAN AND THIRD WORLD ATTITUDES ON ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO THE US. ITS INFLUENCE LARGELY RESULTS FROM PRESIDENT NYERERE'S STATURE AND TANZANIA'S PROXIMITY TO SOUTHERN AFRICA.
- 2. OUR STATED GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN TANZANIA ARE LIMITED:
- A. TO ACHIEVE COOPERATION ON AFRICAN ISSUES THROUGH DEVELOPMENT OF A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE;
- B. TO IMPROVE THE GENERAL IMAGE OF THE UNITED STATES IN TANZANIA: AND
- C. TO DENY TANZANIAN PORTS AND AIRFIELDS TO MAJOR POWERS.
- 3. THE ENVIRONMENT FOR US-TANZANIAN RELATIONS HAS IMPROVED SUBSTANTIALLY OVER THE PAST YEAR OR TWO AS WE HAVE COME INTO SECRET

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COOPERATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES AND IN THE WAKE OF PRESIDENT NYERERE'S VISIT TO THE US. SPECIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS INCLUDE: (A) PRESIDENT NYERERE'S PERSISTENT AND EFFECTIVE COOPERATION WITH US IN TRYING TO MOVE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND SWAPO INTO MORE REASONABLE NEGOTIATING POSITIONS ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, (B) NYERERE'S RECENT DECISION TO RELEASE A NUMBER OF POLITICAL DETAINESS WHICH WAS CERTAINLY INFLUENCED IN PART BY

AMERICAN EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND (C) RECENT US-TANZANIAN DISCUSSIONS WHICH APPEAR LIKELY TO LEAD TO REESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEACE CORPS IN TANZANIA.

4. HOWEVER, THE FRAMEWORK OF US-TANZANIAN COOPERATION REMAINS FRAGILE. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED A VERY CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE BUT IN DOING SO WE HAVE MADE COMMITMENTS ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN QUESTIONS WHICH MAY BE DIFFICULT TO FULFILL. WE HAVE ENGENDERED INCREASED TRUST IN THE BONA FIDES OF THE UNITED STATES, BUT OUR SPECIFC COMMON INTERESTS REMAIN FEW. WE STILL DIFFER FUNDAMENTALLY ON NORTH-SOUTH QUESTIONS (WHICH ARE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO TANZANIA), LAW OF THE SEA MATTERS, AND MAJOR RECURRING INTERNATIONAL ISSUES SUCH AS KOREA AND PUERTO RICO. WHILE NYERERE HIMSELF IS RATIONAL AND HAS SHOWN NEW UNDERSTANDING ON THESE ISSUES, THE TANZANIAN PRESS AND PUBLIC AND MOST OFFICIALS HAVE NOT KEPT PACE WITH HIM AND STILL LIVE AND REACT IN AN ATMOSPHERE THAT IS STRONGLY CONDITIONED AGAINST THE "CAPITALIST" WEST

5. THE DYNAMICS OF CURRENT US-TANZANIAN COOPERATION CENTER ON SOUTHERN AFRICA AND BILATERAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE. OUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO TANZANIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT HAVE BEEN NECESSARY BUT INSUFFICIENT ALONE IN OBTAINING TANZANIAN COOPERATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES THAT REQUIRED CHANGES IN OUR OWN SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLICY. COOPERATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA MATTERS HAS IN TURN LED TO TANZANIAN INTEREST IN A LARGER US PARTICIPATION SECRET

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IN ITS DEVELOPMENT, INCLUDING THE POSSIBLE RETURN OF THE PEADE CORPS. THE TWO THEMES OF COOPERATION ON SOTHERN AFRICA AND DEVELOPMENT AID ARE INTERWOVEN THROUGHOUT USTANZANIAN RELATIONS AND MUTUALLY SUPPORT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF US POLICY GOALS AND OBJECTIVES.

6. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THE KEY TO OUR APPROACH TO TANZANIA IN ALMOST ALL MATTERS IS HONESTY. RESPECT FOR TANZANIA'S SOVEREIGNTY AND ITS RIGHT TO DISAGREE WITH US WITHOUT BEING ACCUSED OF DOING SO TO PLEASE THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES IS A SECOND MAJOR ELEMENT. MAINTENANCE OF VISITS, HIGH-LEVEL CORRESPONDENCE, AND FREQUENT CONSULTATION BY THE EMBASSY HERE WITH NYERERE ARE IMPORTANT TO MAINTAINING THE CONFIDENCE THAT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED, BUT MORE IMPORTANT STILL IS PLAYINE IT ABSOLUTELY STRAIGHT WITH NYERERE ON ALL MATTERS.

7. ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, THIS MEANS STICKING TO OUR COMMITMENTS, AND, WHEN NECESSARY, TAKING A POSTURE INDEPENDENT OF OUR ALLIES INCLUDING THE UK. IT MEANS THAT IF WE FIND IT NECESSARY TO DEPART FROM AN AGREED POSITION, WE SHOULD CONSULT WITH NYERERE FIRST, AND, IF HE WON'T GO ALONG, WE SHOULD ACCEPT THE FACT THAT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS ARE GOING TO DETERIORATE ONCE AGAIN.

8. AS FAR AS DENYING TANZANIAN PORTS AND AIRFIELDS TO MAJOR POWERS GOES, THIS WILL FOR THE MOST PART TAKE CARE OF ITSELF. NYERERE'S NON-ALIGNMENT IS REAL. HE WILL NOT OFFER FACILITIES TO ANYONE SHORT OF AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITY TO DO SO FOR SELF-PRESERVATION. IF WE DO NOT PRESS HIM FOR NAVAL PORT CALLS, ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEFENSE ATTACHE OFFICE, ETC., OTHERS WILL HAVE LESS OF AN ARGUMENT FOR DOING SO.

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9. ON IMPROVING OUR IMAGE, WE HAVE TO REMEMBER THAT FOR A DOZEN YEARS TANZANIA'S VIEW OF THE US RANGED FROM HOSTILITY TO INDIFFERENCE. NOW NYERERE AND SOME OTHER THOUGHTFUL TANZANIANS ARE BEGINNING TO THINK OF THE US AGAIN IN MOREFRIENDLY TERMS. AS THEY SEE IT, THE US DID FINISH WITH VIET NAM. IT DOES PROVIDE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO A MILITANT SOCIALIST COUNTRY. IT HAS TAKEN A CLEARCUT STAND ON INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. ON MOST ISSUES OF CONCERN TO AFRICA AND THE THIRD WORLD, THE US APPEARS OUT IN FRONT OF MANY OF ITS ALLIES. FROM A TANZANIAN POINT OF VIEW, IT IS NOW POSSIBLE AND WORTHWHILE TO DO BUSINESS WITH THE US AGAIN, ALTHOUGH CERTAIN PARAMETERS ARE BELIEVED SET BY OUR DIFFERENT ECONOMIC SYSTEMS.

10. THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF FUTURE RELATIONS WILL DEPEND ON THE OUTCOME OF THAT BUSINESS. CERTAINLY SOUTHERN AFRICA IS CRUCIAL, BUT TANZANIAN VIEWS OF THE US WILL ALSO BE CONDITIONED BY THE STANDS WE TAKE ON OTHER AFRICAN ISSUES, SUCH AS THE HORN, AND ON MUTILATERAL QUESTIONS, INCLUDING NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES AND LAW OF THE SEA.

11. LET US TURN TO THE RESOURCES THAT WE HAVE TO PROMOTE OUR

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES AND TO ENSURE THAT FUTURE RELATIONS WILL BE AS FRIENDLY AND CONSTRUCTIVE AS POSSIBLE. IN PERSONNEL TERMS, THIS MISSION HAS ABOUT WHAT IT NEEDS. THE DIPLOMATIC STAFF IS SECRET

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UP TO THE LIMIT SET BY THE TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT FOR US AND ALL OTHER EMBASSIES. IT IS SUFFICIENT TO DO WHAT WE NEED TO DO. THE SUPPORT STAFF IS LIKEWISE ADEQUATE FOR PRESENT AND PREDICTABLE NEEDS. THE CURRENT \$800,000-A-YEAR STATE DEPARTMENT BUDGET IS ABOUT RIGHT. WE ALWAYS HAVE TO PROVIDE FOR INFLATION AND FY 1979 WILL SEE A SHARP ONE-TIME INCREASE (TO \$1,200,000) BECAUSE OF THE MOVE TO A NEW CHANCELLERY. WITH STATE PERSONNEL, THE VARIABLE IS NOT NUMBERS BUT QUALITY. WE NEED ONLY SO MANY PEOPLE TO TALK TO SO MANY TANZANIANS. WE HAVE ALWAYS HAD TOPNOTCH PEOPLE FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO NEED THEM. A WISE CHOICE BY AN ASSIGNMENTS OFFICER IN WASHINGTON COSTS VIRTUALLY NOTHING IN DOLLARS AND CENTS BUT IS MORE IMPORTANT IN PURSUIT OF OUR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES THAN ANOTHER HALF-MILLION DOLLARS IN THE BUDGET.

12. MUCH THE SAME IS TRUE OF ICA. WE HAVE THREE AMERICAN OFFICERS. THE OVERALL IMPROVEMENT IN US-TANZANIAN RELATIONS HAS MEANT THAT THEY NOW ACCOMPLISH MUCH MORE FOR EACH HOUR THEY WORK THAN WAS THE CASE IN THE PAST. PRIVATE AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE SERVICE CORPS ARE ABLE TO STEP UP THEIR ACTIVITIES WITHOUT COST TO THE US. USIS ACTIVITIES OF LESSER PRIORITY WHICH NECESSARILY OCCUPIED PART OF OUR TIME WHEN THE ATMOSPHERE WAS BAD ARE BEING SHUCKED OFF AS NEW OPPORTUNITIES DEVELOP. DETAILS OF THESE APPEAR IN THE FY 1978 BUDGET OF \$407,424, WHICH, INCIDENTALLY, SEEMS TO US TO BE IN THE RIGHT PROPORTION TO HE STATE AND AID BUDGETS. OUR RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FY 1979 WILL CALL FOR MODEST INCREASES IN PHYSICAL RESOURCES, EXCHANGE GRANTS, PUBLICATIONS, VIDEO TAPES, ETC. IF THE PRESENT IMPOVED ATMOSPHERE CONTINUES, WE MAY WHICH TO CONSIDER MODERATELY INCREASED RESOURCES IN FY 1980.

13. THE MAJOR VARIATION IN RESOURCE ALLOCATIONS IN TANZANIA IS TO BE FOUND IN OUR AID BUDGETS. TOTAL ASSISTANCE FOR FY 1975 WAS SECRET

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\$39,900,000; FOR FY 1976 \$23,060,000; FOR FY 1977 \$21,597,000; FOR FY 1978 \$22,558,000; AND OUR AID ANNUAL BUDGET SUBMISSION (ABS) FOR FY 1979 TOTALS \$28,239,000. THE FY 1980 ABS IS NOW BEING PREPARED AND WE ARE WITHHOLDING JUDGEMENT ON ITS SIZE UNTIL WE HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO STUDY IT.

14. THE AID FIGURES DO NOT LEND THEMSELVES TO READY COMPARISON WITH THE STATE AND ICA ONCES. THERE ARE ADDITIONAL INPUTS THROUGH MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE WORLD BANK. BILATERAL AID FIGURES INCLUDE PL 480 FOOD, THE VALUE OF WHICH VARIES NOT ONLY BY THE AMOUNT NEEDED BUT ALSO BY THE TITLE I OR TITLE II PROVISIONS UNDER WHICH IT IS GIVEN. CARE IS BEING TAKEN TO SEE THAT DEPENDENCE ON PL 480 FOOD DOES NOT INHIBIT DOMESTIC FOOD PROBTCTION AND THE INDICATIONS ARE THAT PL 480 PROVISIONS FOR TANZANIA WILL CONTINUE TO DROP OFF SUBSTANTIALLY IN FY 1979 AND BEYOND. GIVEN THE AVAILABILITES AND US OBJECTIVES OF THE PL 480 PROGRAM AND TANZANIA'S EXCELLENT USE OF IT, PL 480 ASSISTANCE CAN PROBABLY BEST BE LOOKED UPON AS SUI GENERIS IN OUR MIX OF RESOURCE ALLOCATIONS, I.E., WHEN TANZANIA NEEDS IT AND WE HAVE IT, WE GIVE IT.

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15. THE THRUST AND BALANCE OF THE AID BUDGET CAN BETTER BE SEEN IN THE GRANT TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM: \$4,300,000 IN FY 1975; \$9,277,000 IN FY 1976; \$6,777,000 IN FY 1977; \$10,724,000 IN FY 1978; WITH \$18,440,000 PROJECTED FOR FY 1979. IN THE COURSE OF THESE INCREASES, THE USAID MISSION'S OPERATING BUDGET HAS RISEN FROM \$506,700 IN 1975 TO \$961,700 IN 1979. APPROVED DIRECT-HIRE PERSONNEL HAVE GONE FROM 19 TO 22 IN THE SAME PERIOD. CONTRACT PERSONNEL, FROM 29 TO 77.

16. HERE WE COME TO A QUESTION OF LISTING GOALS AND RESOURCES.
96 PERCENT OF ALL USG RESOURCES EXPENDED IN TANZANIA (IN FY 78,
\$28,239,000 OUT OF \$29,443,000) GOES INTO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.
79 PERCENT OF USG-SUPPORTED PERSONNEL (92 OUT OF 116) ARE ENGAGED IN DEVELOPMENTAL ACTIVITY. YET THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF TANZANIA IS NOT IN ITSELF ONE OF OUR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES. RATHER,

WE DESCRIBE THE AID PROGRAM AS CONTRIBUTING TO IMPROVING THE US IMAGE IN TANZANIA AND AS A NECESSITY IN GAINING ACCESS TO KEY TANZANIAN OFFICIALS.

17. IN DISCUSSIONS OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS, WE HAVE CONSIDERED AT LENGTH FORMULATING A SEPARATE GOAL TO COVER OUR DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES. SOME MEMBERS OF THE MISSION, INCLUDING THE ACTING AID DIRECTOR, BELIEVE THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN TANZANIA AND THE INCREASING AMOUNT OF RESOURCES SECRET

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WE ARE INVESTING IN THEM REQUIRE THAT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BE ESTABLISHED AS A SEPARATE GOAL IN ITSELF. I HAVE CONCLUDED THAT AT PRESENT, EVEN THOUGH THESE ACTIVITIES TAKE SUCH A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF OUR RESOURCES, DEVELOPMENT AS SUCH IS NOT A PRIMARY GOAL FOR THE USG IN TANZANIA WHEN COMPARED WITH OUR OTHER INTERESTS. FIRST, EVEN OUR EXPANDED FY 1979 AID PROGRAM CONSTITUTES LESS THAN 10 PERCENT OF TOTAL FOREIGN AID RECEIVED BY TANZANIA. SECOND, THE TANZANIAN SOCIALIST ROAD TO DEVELOPMENT IS FIRMLY SET. NOTHING WE CAN DO IS LIKELY TO CHANGE IT AND, IN CERTAIN AREAS WHERE MILITANT SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY PREVAILS, WE ARE LESS COMPETENT THAN OTHERS EVEN TO TRY TO HELP.

18. HOWEVER, WE ARE VERY COMPETENT IN THE AREAS IN WHICH WE ARE WORKING--FOOD AND HEALTH--AND ARE MAKING A REAL CONTRIBUTION THERE. TANZANIA'S DEVELOPMENT AIMS (FOCUSED ON THE POOR MAJORITY) AND ITS TECHNIQUES (FULL LOCAL PARTICIPATION AND LITTLE CORRUPTION) COINCIDE WITH THOSE SET BY CONGRESS. THE PRESENCE OF AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM HAS BEEN THE SINE QUA NON FOR ALL COUNTRIES WHICH WISH TO CARRY OUT CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH TANZANIA. OUR SUCCESS IN THE FOOD AND HEALTH FIELDS IS CLEARLY IMPROVING OUR IMAGE.

19. THE REASON FOR THE RELATIVELY LARGE PERCENTAGE OF OUR RESOURCES DEVOTED TO AID, THUS, LIES IN (A) THE FACT THAT WE ARE PROVIDING TECHNIAL/CAPITAL ASSISTANCE (PEOPLE COMBINED WITH COMMODITIES), (B) THAT THE COST OF GETTING ANYTHING DONE IN THIS REMOTE AND PRIMITIVE ENVIRONMENT IS HIGHER THAN IN MANY OTHER PLACES, AND (C) THAT WE ARE CURRENTLY STARTING ON A NEW CYCLE OF TECHNICAL/CAPITAL

ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS TO REPLACE THOSE

THAT ARE NEARLY COMPLETED WITH CONSEQUENT HIGH START-UP COSTS. WE BELIEVE THSE RESOURCES ARE BEING WELL AND USEFULLY SPENT IN TERMS OF DEVELOPMENT AS WELL AS OVERALL US GOALS AND OBJECTIVES. SECRET

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20. I HAVE ALSO CAREFULLY REVIEWED PROGRAM EXPENDITURES IN TANZANIA BY OTHER US GOVERNMENT AGENCIES THAN THOSE NAMED ABOVE AND FIND THAT THEY CONSTITUTE LESS THAN ONE-HALF OF ONE PERCENT OF THE WHOLE. THIS, I BELIEVE, IS MODEST AND PROPER AT THE PRESENT TIME. SHOULD THE PEACE CORPS REENTER TANZANIA, I EXPECT ITS INITIAL BUDGET WILL ALSO BE TINY COMPARED WITH THE OVERALL TOTAL. FURTHER REFINEMENT ON THIS POINT WILL HAVE TO AWAIT THE OUTCOME OF PRESENT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE TANGOV AND THE USG.

21. IN SUM, HAVING EXAMINED THE WHOLE PICTURE IN TERMS OF OUR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES, I BELIEVE OUR COMMITMENT OF RESOURCES TO BE ABOUT RIGHT. WE MAY SEEK MODEST INCREASES IN FY 1979 AND FY 1980 FOR ICA. THE AID FY 1980 PROGRAM WILL BE DEVELOPED IN THE ABS DUE IN JUNE. OF COURSE, WE WILL INEVITABLY NEED TO TAKE INFLATION INTO ACCOUNT IN BUDGETTING FOR ALL AGENCIES. SPAIN

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